

Palestine Perspectives

Number 49

The Magazine of Contemporary Palestinian Affairs

Sept./Oct. 1990



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When U.S. subsidy of Israel is compared on per capita and need basis with aid to the rest of the world, the figures are astonishing—*p. 3*

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Israeli lawyer and human rights activist despairs of Israeli "justice." Unable to ensure due process to political detainees, she closes her law practice and leaves Israel—*p. 9*

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The Palestinians Are Not A Hologram

Zionists believe that the Palestinians are a figment of an active Arab imagination, a sort of hologram that can be turned on and off. Even though they no longer find it possible to argue that the Palestinians "don't exist," they do the next best thing: they argue that the Palestine issue is not the serious problem it is made out to be, and that its resolution is not going to guarantee the peace of the region.

Some of this is true, and some of it is false. No one would say that the Israeli occupation is the only problem in the Middle East. But to use the fact that there are other problems to justify not dealing with a problem that has caused a series of wars in the region and promises to continue to be a source of future wars is disingenuous, to say the least.

The Middle East has all sorts of problems. There are bilateral conflicts between pairs of states, there are constitutional crises which have caused or threaten to cause instability, there is the problem of reconciling the interests of individual Arab states with the general Arab national interest, the problem of democratization and liberalization, the problem of economic and social development. And there are other problems. Does this mean that the Israeli problem is irrelevant to the peace and welfare of the region? Of course not.

Yet, taking advantage of recent events in the Arab Gulf region, Israel has already begun to justify what the entire world has judged to be unjustifiable: the continuation of the status quo in occupied Palestine.

The point is that if the occupation continues, the region would be even more volatile, and Israel would have one more reason to fear for its future. A colonial power neither can nor is it entitled to be secure. If the unjust do not have sleepless nights, if the unjust are never disturbed, injustice would reign supreme in our world.

If Israel wants excuses not to make peace, there are plenty of them and they are relatively easy to come by. The Gulf crisis is currently the most convenient excuse. Before that it was fear of Soviet penetration of the Middle East, and before that it was Nasser's ambitions, and before all of them it was holocaust theology. The one problem Israel never had is finding excuses for evading peace with the Arabs.

Peace will have a chance when Israel stops thinking of its conflict with the Palestinians as a public relations duel, and when it begins to realize that it is a political, military, legal, and moral burden which needs to be faced and resolved...not evaded.

Many times since the Arab-Israeli conflict began, crises in the Middle East overshadowed the Israeli problem, and more than once the Palestinians got lost in the shuffle. But the clearest sign that the Palestinians are not just a mirage and that their rights and concerns are not just a side show in the larger theater of the Middle East, is that other crises come and go, and the Palestinians and the struggle for their rights outlast them all.

Will Washington get excited about foreign military occupation in Palestine as elsewhere? Will it threaten Israel with economic sanctions? Will it threaten to go to war to carry out Security Council resolutions? Will it mobilize a world coalition against Israel? Or will it continue to hold the view that international law is a constraint on some and a license for others? The answers to these seemingly rhetorical questions in fact have a lot to do with the future of war and peace in the Middle East. □



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The Special Relationship

By John McGrane*

Whether the "special relationship" between the United States and Israel is a genuine mutual admiration shared by Americans and Israelis or just a well entrenched mutual support system shared by the U.S. Congress and the Israeli lobby, there is no denying its existence. U.S. foreign aid figures recently published by the Agency for International Development offer conclusive evidence of America's unique interest in Israel. Though one of the smaller and more developed countries of the world, Israel is the single largest recipient of U.S. economic and military assistance. With an annual earmarked appropriation of \$3 billion and additional assorted forms of aid amounting to approximately \$700 million (according to both the U.S. State Department and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee), Israel receives almost \$1.4 billion more than the second largest recipient: Egypt, which incidentally owes its number two position to a peace treaty with Israel.

Although giving one country almost twice as much aid as another—as in the case of Israel and Egypt—represents a significant disparity of treatment, most comparisons between Israel and other U.S. aid recipients around the world reveal disparities in factors of hundreds and even thousands. In fiscal year 1990, Israel received 10.5 times more U.S. aid than the Philippines, 28 times more than Bangladesh, 86 times more than Haiti, 123 times more than Ireland, 174 times more than Poland, 495 times more than Gambia, 3,100 times more than South Korea, almost 30,000 times more than Uruguay, 37,000 times more than Algeria, 74,000 times more than Chile, and 148,000 times more than Suriname. Israel even fared well when compared to entire continents. In fiscal year 1990, Israel received almost twice as much U.S. aid as all of Latin America, 2.5 times more than Asia and the Pacific, over 4 times more than sub-Saharan Africa, and approximately 4.5 times more than Europe. In fact, the U.S. Congress appropriated more aid for Israel in fiscal year 1990 than it did for all the countries of Europe, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America combined.

As impressive as these country comparisons are, U.S. favoritism toward Israel is even more manifest when aid is considered on a per capita basis. Not counting the Arab population of Israel (a little over 15%), which if it benefits at all from U.S. aid to Israel does so only incidentally, per capita aid to Israel runs around \$1,000 a year. Comparing this figure to the per capita aid to other countries reveals the following: An Israeli gets as much U.S. aid as 190 Pakistanis, despite the fact that Pakistanis on the average are 27 times poorer than Israelis; an Israeli gets 436 times more than someone from Chad even though Israelis are nearly 60 times richer; an Israeli gets as much as 1,220 Somalis who are 55 times poorer; as much as 1,785 Poles who are 5 times poorer; 1,960 Tanzanians who are nearly 60 times poorer; 5,000 Mexicans; 7,700 Indians; 10,000 Nigerians; more than 33,000 Koreans; 50,000 Brazilians; 230,000 Argentinians; and 250,000 Algerians.

Considering how much is said and written in this country about the Arab-Israeli conflict, it is remarkable just how little discussion there is of its origin and underlying



cause: the question of whose land it is. Politicians and political analysts discuss Yasser Arafat's veracity, Yitzhak Shamir's sincerity, the state of U.S.-Israeli relations, terrorism, the international peace conference, the intifada, anti-Semitism, the morale of the Israeli army, Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, the rise of the Israeli right wing, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism, Soviet motives, Arab oil, the right of American Jews to criticize Israel, whether or not time is running out, U.S. diplomacy, Arab feuding, Israeli politics, the PLO, whether Israel should talk to the PLO, whether we should talk to the PLO, whether we should talk to Israel about talking to the PLO about talking about talking, and so on and so on. But discussion of the real issue, who has the legal/moral right to the disputed land, hardly exists.

Why is everyone afraid to come to grips with this issue? The politicians are caught in a political squeeze play. No matter which direction they move they run into trouble. Neither Congress nor the Administration has the stomach to give Israel the green light to turn out the perennially unlucky Palestinians for the third time, nor do they relish facing worldwide condemnation and Arab oil embargo that would likely follow such an action. On the other hand, if any politician were to decide that he or she had had enough of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and advocated the imposition of sanctions against Israel, such as a reduction in U.S. aid, or did the unthinkable by advocating recognition of the State of Palestine, it would be tantamount to signing his or her own political death warrant. The legendary Israel lobby, whose awesome political influence was recently demonstrated by the attendance of nearly half the U.S. Senate at the latest AIPAC dinner, would be more than happy to offer its services as undertaker.

Thus the non-debate on the Middle East goes on, our paralyzed politicians saving face by making much ado about nothing, while secretly praying that the "special relationship" with Israel doesn't blow up in their faces someday. □

John McGrane is an attorney and a freelance writer from the Washington area.

Israel's Tent Dwellers

By Adam Keller*

The influx of Soviet Jews into Israel has aroused great apprehension in the Arab world. Israeli government assurances could not dispel fears of massive deportations and expulsions of Palestinians to make room for Jewish newcomers. Nor could Palestinian fears be dismissed as baseless, since at least one of the parties in Shamir's government openly advocates the massive expulsion of Arabs.

Paradoxically, however, it is young Israeli Jews—some of them fresh from military service in the occupied territories—who are being turned out of their homes by the Soviet immigrants. This situation came about through the simple operation of the market mechanism: each Soviet Jewish family gets from the Israeli government a monthly grant of \$400 for rent. Within a few months, the Soviet immigrants snapped up practically all available free apartments and caused rents to rise steeply. Small apartments which previously rented for \$150-200 a month now go for \$400 and more. Young Israeli families, many of whom have monthly incomes of \$500-600 are unable to pay the new rents, and a growing number of them are becoming homeless.

Overnight, shanty towns and tent cities have appeared in public parks and empty lots in more than fifty sites all over Israel. New ones are appearing practically every day. Suddenly, the homeless have become a social and political problem of paramount significance.

Strictly speaking, squatting on public land is illegal in Israel. But the homeless enjoy such strong public support that no mayor dares order them evicted. Indeed, most mayors were quick to give the shanty towns official recognition and provide them with municipal services.

Nevertheless, as time goes on and no solution is found, the protest of the Israeli homeless is becoming increasingly fierce. There have been demonstrations, clashes with the police, buses burned. Bat Yam's town hall was occupied by the homeless protesters on July 19.

Ariel Sharon, the new Housing Minister, pressed for emergency powers to give him authority to confiscate land and to erect "quick housing." But he aroused the opposition of mayors and Interior Ministry officials whose planning powers Sharon wanted to usurp. There was also opposition from environmentalists, archaeologists, peace groups, all of them fearful that Sharon wants to drive native Israelis (instead of Russian Jews) into settling in the occupied territories. There was opposition of Arab citizens of Israel who feared that Sharon planned to use his emergency powers to expropriate their land (such as the "Judaization of Jaffa") to carry out his scheme.

So far, the homeless themselves have rejected offers of housing them in Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. They want housing in their own towns. And they refused to become the objects of casual charity. □

Adam Keller is a well-known Israeli peace activist, and is the editor of *The Other Israel*. The above is a summary of an article to appear in the next issue of that newsletter.

—From the Israeli Press—

Politics Without Vision

Vision seems to have gone out of politics in Israel. Some ascribe it to the demise of ideology, which appears to have affected not only the radical European movements of left and right, but also their Zionist hybrid progeny, Labor Zionism and the "nationalist camp."

Vision, so it is maintained, is the product of a fighting faith which provides a map of the future. If history has come to an end with the conclusion of the Cold War, as former U.S. State Department policy analyst Francis Fukuyama argues, what place can there be for vision?

Jewish tradition has a different view of the end of history, of course, conceived with a messianic dimension. It also has a different attitude to vision. Throughout Jewish history, there is a recurring pattern of a division of leadership. There are task leaders, whose area of competence is the nitty gritty of administration, of getting things done. Others have been style leaders, whose area of competence is the moral aims of the nation, its vision. In biblical terms, this is, roughly, the division between kings and prophets.

Today, we seem to lack both energy and the prophetic touch. The task role is performed badly and the style role not at all.

Allen E. Shapiro, *The Jerusalem Post International*, 28 July 1990

Only Benvenisti Is Irreversible

[Excerpt of response to Meron Benvenisti's argument that the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is irreversible]

Meron Benvenisti...persists in his claim, both obsessive and hopeless, that in the occupied territories change in the status quo is irreversible, and that neither the end of occupation nor of confrontation is in sight....

As far back as 1984 when Benvenisti published his first research on the facts and figures of the occupation, we expressed our reservations over the dubious conclusions which he added to his factual findings... The great torrent of national liberation which swept over all the continents in the twentieth century, bringing about the establishment of over a hundred new states, including Israel, on the ruins of colonial empires, constitutes a historical transformation unprecedented both in human and territorial dimensions in the whole of human history. However, it did not attract Benvenisti's attention.

The hapless manner in which powers like France got out of Algeria, the U.S. left Vietnam, and the USSR withdrew from Afghanistan, all after years of bloody colonial wars, is not relevant in Benvenisti's view to the conclusion which Israel must draw....

Our situation is truly a crisis of decolonization. We are in the throes of a colonial dispute, one of the last in the world.

Arieh Yaari, *Ha'aretz*, 15 March 1990

The Peres-Rabin Feud

The Israeli Labor Party Chooses Evasion

The ongoing struggle for leadership in the Israeli Labor Party was given another extension at the end of July when the party failed to make a clear choice between Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin, the contenders for its leadership. While the party's Leadership Bureau showed preference for Rabin, the Central Committee zigzagged in the direction of his rival, the current leader who has been weakened by four failures to win elections.

The barometer for the popularity of the two competitors has been the issue of whether to select a party leader now or to postpone the issue for about a year, until the next parliamentary elections approach. Rabin wants a decision now, and Peres wants to wait. The Leadership Bureau and the Central Committee, in successive meetings, went in opposite directions. In effect, the Labor Party decided not to decide, mirroring the general malaise of current Israeli politics.

The result is that the Labor Party, the only alternative to the right wing Likud which has been governing Israel since 1977, remains in effect leaderless. The continuing struggle for its leadership is likely to damage the party's chances in the next elections even more. Consequently, Israel's slide to the right is likely to continue in the foreseeable future.

The problem, of course, goes farther than the disarray and subsequent weakness of the Labor Party. Israeli society as a whole exhibits increasing right wing tendencies, both secular and religious, as it faces fateful issues such as the future of the occupied territories, peace with the Arabs, and the profound demographic changes taking place as the result of massive Soviet immigration and the impact of that immigration on the largely non-European Israeli society. □

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Israel Developing "Second Strike" Nuclear Capability

Two Israeli writers, Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, say that Israel is close to developing a submarine-launched nuclear missile force to give it "second strike" capability. This capability is based on American cruise missiles armed with Israeli nuclear weapons.

The writers say that Israel's loss of monopoly on weapons of mass de-

struction and the means of their delivery in the Middle East and better Arab defenses have made traditional Israeli preference for "preemptive" strikes more difficult.

Some observers, however, believe that such information is leaked by the Israeli government as part of the war of words which has recently erupted between Israel and Iraq. □

Analysis... Is Peace With Israel Possible?

The question is bound to startle some people. After all, during the last couple of years practically everything that has been written about the Arab-Israeli conflict assumes the inevitability of peaceful coexistence and focuses not on whether peace is possible but on how best to achieve it.

The assumption about the inevitability of Arab-Israeli peace has been partly psychological. If Egypt and Israel can make peace, why not the others? With some people, it has been an expression of good old fashioned faith in the eventual triumph of common sense. With others, the optimism has been largely the product of naivete, assuming that the Arab-Israeli conflict is nothing but a regrettable case of misunderstanding that has gotten out of hand. It is even possible that some people hold the view because they think it is the civilized thing to do. It is rather sociable to be upbeat and optimistic about problems in general.

The idea that Arab-Israeli peace may be around the corner, however, is mostly the product of the misguided belief that Israel has always been eager to make peace with the Arabs, if it only could find an Arab partner. Now that the Palestinians are willing to make peace, the theory goes, all that is needed now is some clever diplomacy and good luck.

But let us be honest with ourselves. There are at least two reasons why the Arabs and Israelis may not be able to resolve the conflict if left to their own devices. One, their conflict is about a profound issue which affects people's lives: space. Space has been the most frequent cause of wars. For two peoples, the Palestinians and Israelis, who believe that they have nowhere else to go, the struggle for Palestine appears as a struggle for survival.

The other reason why the conflict is more serious than most people seem to realize is that Israel's state ideology, Zionism, combines beliefs which make flexibility and compromise both dangerous and blasphemous. The secular half of Zionism says that maximizing Israel's land holdings is the sine qua non of the survival of the Jewish people in the world. The "ingathering" of the world's Jews—to save them from inevitable future holocausts, according to Zionism—makes it suicidal for Israel not to hold on to all the territory that it can grab.

The theological half of Zionism says that it is a religious sin to withdraw from any territory ruled by the Jewish state. Israel's rabbis have so ruled.

That is why Israel's much advertised and widely assumed desire for peace with its neighbors turned out to be a forgery. The Palestinians, and later the U.S. government, called Israel's bluff with their recent peace initiatives.

Is it hopeless, then? No, but Israel needs to be convinced somehow that it can have land or peace, but not both land and peace. This can happen either by the triumph of rationalism in Israeli society, or a significant change in the balance of power in the region. The first route is obviously safer, for all concerned, but is it likely? Time will tell. □

Soviet Jewish Immigration



"The government of Israel is racist, all Ashkenazim [European Jews] are racists."

"I feel hurt. I feel this country has made me feel like zero. The pain is so deep it is hard to express."

Israeli tent people spokesperson Yamin Suissa, *The Jerusalem Post International*, 28 July 1990

The proverbial morning after arrived sooner than expected in Israel. Large scale Soviet Jewish immigration is jolting both Israel and its new citizens. And the backlash is jolting everyone else. The newcomers are already displacing older Israelis, and a new society of homeless Jews in the Jewish state is being created. Already there are more than 30 "tent cities" in Israel, and the number is growing.

The Beginning

For several years Israel worked hard to persuade or pressure the Soviet Union to permit the exit of unlimited numbers of Soviet Jews. Jewish communities throughout the world mobilized under the slogan of "Let My People Go," they demonstrated and asked their various governments to press the Soviet Union on the issue. The U.S. government got involved in this campaign in a big way, raising the question of Soviet Jewish emigration as a human rights issue, and even used economic pressure on the Soviet Union.

Operating from the Zionist ideological premise that anti-Semitism is a universal and incurable Gentile disease, Israel made the "ingathering" of the Jews of the world its primary mission. It also had practical reasons for the ingathering of the Jews. Large numbers of Jewish immigrants were needed to further marginalize the remaining Arab residents of Palestine, to help Israel overcome its manpower inferiority vis-a-vis the Arab world, and—since the substantial Jewish communities in the world live in Europe and North America—new immigrants were needed to enhance the proportion of European (as against non-European) Jews in Israel.

Israel not only worked to bring about an influx of Soviet Jewish immigrants, it also worked hard to make sure that they have no place to go but to Israel. In the past, the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews who were permitted to leave their country chose to go elsewhere.

Finally, Israel got its wish on both counts: the Soviet Union liberalized its emigration rules, making it possible for a large number of Soviet Jews to leave their country. At the same time, the U.S. government was persuaded not to admit more Jewish immigrants. Also, Soviet Jews leaving the Soviet Union were not given valid passports

Soviet Missile Expert Becomes Israeli

A Soviet weapons expert has recently become an Israeli settler in the occupied West Bank (Gilo, south of Jerusalem). Boris Wiegmann, a Soviet Jew who immigrated to Israel in June, had worked in a high level position in Soviet military industry. He is said to have been involved in the development and design of aviation radar and missiles, including missiles used on MIGs.

Wiegmann, 63, hopes to find a suitable position in Israel's military industry, and thinks that he can help Israel establish relations with the armaments industry in Eastern Europe. □

by their government, thus limiting their ability to travel. Consequently, Israel became their only practical destination. Direct flights to Israel from many East European countries, and financial subsidies by the Israeli government and Zionist organizations made it impossible for most Soviet Jews to go elsewhere. The "prisoners of Zion" became prisoners in Zion.

The Backlash

The Arabs became apprehensive. Massive Jewish immigration to Israel threatened to make the expulsion of the remnants of Palestinian society a clear and present danger. Talk of "transfer," (meaning mass eviction of Palestinians) increased in Israel. The government of Israel continued to refuse to commit itself to keeping the new immigrants out of occupied Palestine. Even if new immigrants do not settle in the occupied territories in large numbers, there is the possibility that the Israelis they are displacing would succumb to the temptation of subsidized housing in Jewish settlements there and become settlers themselves.

Jordan felt threatened, because it feared that the expulsion of Palestinians from the occupied West Bank and Gaza would further destabilize it by creating new demographic and economic problems for it. The possibility of another spurt of Israeli territorial expansion at the expense of neighboring Arab states disturbed the Arab world as a whole.

Poor Israelis, both Israeli Arabs and non-European Jews, feared that they

would pay—in jobs and social services—as Israel devoted more and more of its resources to the “ingathering” and absorption of Soviet Jews. The remnants of the once thriving Palestinian city of Jaffa, now ghettoized in a slum area of their former city, fear that they would be victimized again after the mayor of the neighboring city of Tel Aviv commented that the influx of Soviet Jews would be a good opportunity to further reduce Arab presence in Jaffa.

And It Happened

These fears materialized rather quickly. Cuts in government subsidies to essential commodities—such as bread, eggs, milk and meat—which threaten to raise prices by a third or more, are already in the works. Child allowances paid to families have also been slashed. The cost of housing increased phenomenally in a very short period of time, sometimes doubling in a few months. Many Israelis have been evicted for inability to pay the higher rents, and a new society of homeless Israeli Jews now exists in Israel. Most of the victims have been Jews who had come to Israel from Arab countries in the 1950s. Various diseases and infections appear to be spreading, particularly among children, in these homeless Israeli communities.

By paying immigrant families the equivalent of \$11,000 as absorption subsidy, given in a lump sum upon arrival, which is more than many Israelis earn in a year, the new immigrants are able to pay rents that older Israelis cannot, sometimes paying a year's rent in advance, and they are taking housing away from them. Furthermore, Jewish communities abroad, now focus their fundraising efforts on projects for the new Soviet immigrants, and poor Israelis who have benefited in the past from such contributions, are finding themselves lost in the shuffle. In general, non-European Jews who spent years in temporary camps when they immigrated to Israel, resent the fact that Soviet Jews are getting money, are put up in nice hotels, and are being provided housing in places of their own choosing. Homeless Israelis see an element of racism in what is happening to them. “You hear statements like ‘we’re black and they’re white,’ said a member of the Israeli parliament who has been studying the plight of the new home-

less Israelis [*The Jerusalem Post International*, 4 August 1990].

The Unthinkable

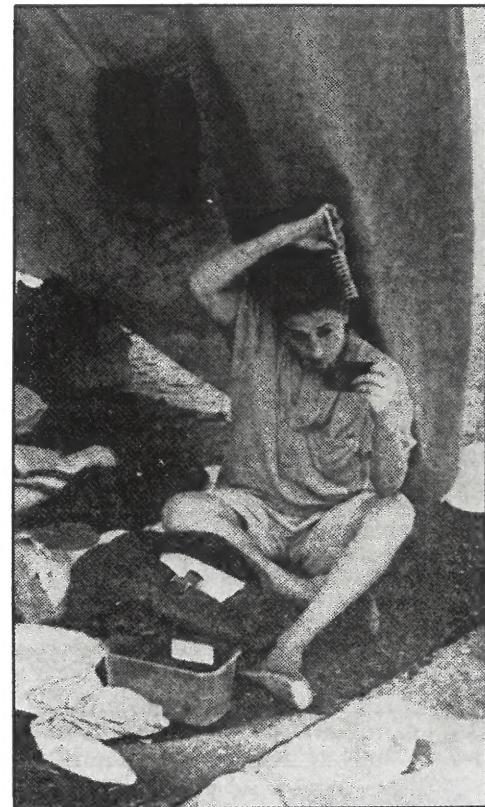
With the number of Soviet newcomers expected to top 150,000 this year, and with the expectation that 20,000 immigrants a month would be arriving in Israel in the future, Israel is caught between its limited resources and the Zionist imperative of “ingathering” the world's Jews in the Jewish state. If, as pressure on resources continues to increase, Israel is forced to lower its standard of living, further immigration will be discouraged and more Israelis will be encouraged to leave and return to their original countries. If, on the other hand, Israel begins to limit Jewish immigration, it would undermine the very justification for its existence as “the state of the Jews.”

Even though the influx of Soviet Jews is just beginning, many Israelis are already beginning to grapple with the unpleasant choices. Many Israelis are already looking for excuses to deny the entry of some Soviet newcomers on the ground that they are not “pure” Jews. Thirty per cent of Soviet immigrants, it is said, are not really Jews since they are the product of mixed marriages. The question of “Who is a Jew?” which has troubled Israel since its birth is reemerging. Recently, Interior Minister Arye Dreri proposed tampering with the “Law of Return,” which gives every Jew the right to live in Israel. He is proposing a more stringent religious test to disqualify many Soviet immigrants. One who has “a Jewish grandfather buried in the USSR,” he said, is not a real Jew and should not be allowed to come to Israel under the Law of Return. Absorption Minister Peretz told the Knesset's Immigration and Absorption Committee: “The possibility exists that seven million more immigrants, among them only two million [real] Jews, may immigrate under the Law of Return. Are we establishing a non-Jewish state?”

The Israeli Interior Ministry is in the process of gathering statistics about “exact figures” of Soviet Jews who are the product of mixed marriages, indicating that this issue is likely to continue to plague the Jewish state in the future.

Will Israel opt for another war to find a way around its problem? In the past it has used wars with the Arabs to

mobilize world Jewry behind it, to increase their financial support, and to grab more land and resources from its neighbors. Will it do it again? □



“Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive.”

*Article 49
Fourth Geneva Convention*

Boris Gets Uzi

The settlement of Soviet Jewish immigrants has aroused worldwide apprehensions that more Israeli settlements in the territories occupied in 1967 would make it even more difficult to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. There are signs, however, that they are likely to become another cause for concern.

Israel plans to use them to expand its armed forces. One such indication is that, according to reports from Israel, the Israeli army has already translated into Russian tests that the Israeli army gives to new recruits. □

Apologists for Israel's rule in occupied Palestine, particularly its brutal impact on children, claim that Palestinian children are often put at risk by adults who encourage them to get involved in dangerous confrontations with Israeli troops. Recently, the Swedish Save the Children, in its massive report on casualties among Palestinian children during the first two years of the intifada, challenged this interpretation by showing that most casualties among children happen away from areas of conflict and are the result of Israel's indiscriminate use of force in the occupied territories [see *Palestine Perspectives*, No. 48, July/August 1990].

The United Nations has recently released a report on the condition of Palestinian children under Israeli occupation which also shows that the plight of children in the occupied West Bank and Gaza is older than the intifada and is caused by Israeli policies which violate all international laws and conventions pertaining to the protection of children.

Three aspects of Israel's rule in occupied Palestine, according to the U.N. study, have contributed to the hardships experienced since 1967 by Palestinian children. One, Israel's economic policies of exploiting the Palestinians and their natural resources have affected children. Stagnation of the industrial sector, decline of the productivity of agriculture, housing shortages, the confiscation of land and water resources, child labor and other economic developments under Israeli rule have undermined the quality of life available to children. As a result, for example, "malnutrition of Palestinian children and the incidence of infants with a low birth weight increased."

"The massive increase in [Jewish] settlers" in the 1980s, says the report, "encroaching on Palestinian communities and increasingly perpetrating acts of violence against Palestinian families and children" also contributed to the plight of Palestinian children. This presence of aggressive and violent settlers "affected Palestinian children daily at home, on their way

to school or at play." The suffering of Palestinian children, the report says, was compounded by "the powerlessness of their elders" in giving them protection from settler violence, and the children "tended to develop a strong sense of helplessness and despair."

The Children of Occupied Palestine

United Nations Report on Their Condition



The third characteristic of life under occupation which has left an impact on the life of the Palestinian child "was an unprecedented level of conflict, repression and violence in the occupied territory even before the Palestinian uprising began in December 1987." When Israel's attempts to secure Palestinian submission to its rule in the early 1980s failed, says the U.N. report, the "iron fist" and "strong arm" policies were intensified in 1985, "leading to the increased loss of life and injury of children as well as violent interference with their universal rights to personal security, family, education and health."

In other words, according the U.N. study, Palestinian children who later became the "children of the stones" and joined their elders in the current uprising against Israel did so because they too became victims of Israeli repression. In the second half of the 1980s, says the report, "Palestinian children and youths living in the Gaza Strip were the first to respond to the increase in repression with the street-level, mostly non-militant shabiba [youth] movement culminating in 1987 in the Palestinian popular uprising."

In addition to identifying the aspects of Israeli policy which deny internationally recognized rights to personal safety and environmental well-being to Palestinian children, the report includes sections on family and

community, education, health, personal security, and a final section on the plight of children since the beginning of the intifada.

The 96-page U.N. report, titled *Palestinian Children in the Occupied Palestinian Territory*, was prepared by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in response to a 1988 General Assembly resolution requesting the Secretary-General of the United Nations "to direct the Division for Palestinian Rights to pay particular attention to the plight of Palestinian children in the occupied Palestinian territories in its program of work for 1989," when two anniversaries relevant to the welfare of children were observed: the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, and the tenth anniversary of the International Year of the Child. □

"The occupying Power shall, with the cooperation of the national and local authorities, facilitate the proper working of all institutions devoted to the care and education of children."

Article 50
Fourth Geneva Convention

She Was Born A Prisoner

A Palestinian baby girl was born in an Israeli prison on the 3rd of June 1990. Her mother named her Watan, Arabic for homeland.

The mother, 20-year-old Intisar al-Qaq, was pregnant when she was arrested, and in April she was sentenced to a four-year term. Family sources say that Intisar gave birth to her baby "with her feet and hands manacled." The nursing mother has not been given supplementary food. She can purchase food from the prison canteen to supplement the inadequate prison diet, but she is often unable to do so because of restrictions on how much money she is allowed to receive from the family.

The family has been allowed to visit their imprisoned daughter and granddaughter, but they are permitted to see them from a distance and they have not had the opportunity to hold the baby.

Intisar was arrested for possession of a Molotov cocktail, which she was accused of planning to throw at an Israeli army patrol. The court gave her a stiffer sentence than the one demanded by the prosecution. □

Pauline Cutting

What Does It Take to Stand and Repeatedly Hit a Child?

Dr. Pauline Cutting, a British doctor, had been witnessing the Palestinians brutalized in Lebanon and in occupied Palestine, and had been doing something about it for years. She had worked as a medical volunteer first in Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps and more recently in the Gaza Strip. In a recent interview with her, published in *The Observer* (May 6, 1990), she made the following comparisons between the Palestinian experience in Lebanon and in occupied Palestine during the intifada:

"The war in Lebanon was terrible, but I never saw a child who was systematically beaten up. Yes, children got wounded and they got shot, but not deliberately. There was no breaking of limbs, no arrest of children and imprisonment. But here [in Gaza] I have seen a 10-year-old boy who was beaten unconscious, with great big weals on his head where he'd been beaten with a blunt instrument. I keep on thinking about what it takes to stand and repeatedly hit a child, what that soldier thinks about when he goes home. But it's not that unusual. Nearly 50 per cent of the casualties seen in this hospital since the beginning of the intifada are under 15 or 16."

"In Lebanon I saw bombing of hospitals, but here there is interference with the medical services at every level. They enter hospitals, arrest patients and health care workers. Health care workers are beaten up. Ambulances are stopped on their way to hospitals and delayed. A few weeks after we arrived, soldiers came to arrest a man on the operating table who had a piece of missile fragment in his abdomen and was on the point of being anesthetized. They sent a sergeant who told me his instructions were to see if he could be transferred to an Israeli hospital without dying on the road. It was possible he would die and I said so, but they took him just the same. In a war, under the Geneva Convention, even your enemy is entitled to medical care." □

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Felicia Langer Gives Up on Israel

Lawyers Have No Place Where There Is No Justice

Israeli lawyer and human rights activist Felicia Langer, after years of battling the iniquities of the Israeli system of justice as applied to the Palestinians, is calling it quits. She has closed down her law practice in Jerusalem and left Israel. "I no longer believe in my country's justice," she explained her decision to the French newspaper *Le Temps*.

Ms. Langer has been an outspoken critic of Israel's violations of Palestinian human and civil rights, and for 23 years, since Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza, she specialized in defending Palestinians before Israeli courts. She has never been able to do much to secure due process for her clients, because a Palestinian in an Israeli court is doomed from the very beginning. "Everything is decided on the political level," she explained. Palestinians are guilty on suspicion. They "are forced to plead guilty to lesser crimes they have not committed to avoid even harsher punishment."

The Palestinians, Langer said, know the score and have no faith in Israeli justice. They know that "they are victims of collective punishment," and they are no longer interested in appealing decisions against them.

Since the intifada began, said Langer, things got worse. Even the most elementary rights of the accused have vanished. "Waves of mass arrests have followed each other with such speed that there is now total confusion. The accused are no longer presented before judges on the day of hearings. In about half the cases, the witnesses are absent, and lawyers don't even know which day to show up in court. The word justice has no meaning."

Felicia Langer called Israeli justice "a travesty," and the role of attorney is to clothe the proceedings with a facade of legality. She told the French News Agency some of her more recent experiences, including the case of a Palestinian political prisoner, Ibrahim al-Matour, who was tortured to death in his prison on 21 October 1988. The court, she said, accepted the military authorities' story that the man committed suicide, ignoring all evidence to the contrary including visible marks of violence on his body, chain marks on his hands and feet, and traces of gas which had been sprayed in his cell.

Langer had been complaining for many years about the fact that a lawyer cannot properly defend a Palestinian client before an Israeli court. Lawyers are often left ignorant of charges, they are not allowed access to evidence and their right to meet their detained clients is frequently denied or restricted. In one of her books, *With My Own Eyes*, she related her frustrating experience as a defense attorney, and through actual cases in which she has been involved she showed how due process is denied to Palestinian political prisoners.

By leaving Israel, Langer said, she will not be abandoning the Palestinians, but she will be involved in their struggle in a different form. She will be teaching about Palestine in a West German university for the next three years. □

Israeli Justice

"Eyelash for an Eye"

Referring to an Israeli court's five month sentence against Rabbi Moshe Levinger's shooting death of a Palestinian shop owner in Hebron, a Palestinian publication described Israeli justice as an "eyelash for an eye." The publication, *Jerusalem*, is the monthly magazine of the Palestine Committee for Non-Governmental Organizations.

Rabbi Levinger, a founder and leader of the right wing settler movement, went berserk in September 1988 when a stone hit his car while driving through Hebron. He got out of his car and began shooting indiscriminately in the crowded produce market. One of the bullets killed a shoe store owner, 42-year-old Kayed Hassan Salah, and another wounded one of his customers. Levinger then rampaged through the produce market, turning over vegetable carts and stalls and terrorizing shoppers.

At first Levinger denied responsibility for the killing, saying "I didn't have the honor of killing the Arab." But there were too many witnesses, including some foreign journalists, and Israeli "justice" had to go through the motions. So Levinger got for murder less than half the sentence that Palestinian kids often get for throwing a stone. □

Water: The Next Arab-Israeli Crisis

Competition for scarce water in the Middle East is not new. In fact, the first Arab Summit was held in 1964 to consult on measures to counteract Israel's diversion of the River Jordan waters, shared by Syria, Jordan and Palestine. Israel's refusal to withdraw from the West Bank is motivated to a considerable extent by its desire to keep control of West Bank water resources, much of which originate as rainfall on the West Bank's mountains and seep through underground currents and aquifers to the coastal region of Israel. Furthermore, Israel's invasion of Lebanon, in 1978 and again in 1982, and its refusal to withdraw are partly motivated by its plans to tap the waters of Lebanon's Litani River which the Zionist movement, even before the establishment of Israel, wanted to be the northern boundary of the Jewish state.

There are now two new reasons why Israel is likely to be even more aggressive in its quest for more water. One, Israel is now overdriving on available water resources. The Israeli water authority, Mekorot, says that Israelis consume two billion cubic

meters of water annually, and that there is already an "overdraft" of twice that much. A spokesman for Mekorot called Israel's water crisis "catastrophic."

Furthermore, Israel will need additional water for "2.5 to 3 million new immigrants we are expecting in the next few years," he said. The Soviet Jewish immigrants expected to arrive in Israel will add another 650 cubic meters to existing annual demand for water. A professor at the University of Jordan, Dr. Elias Salameh, an expert on Middle East water resources, says that Israel will need to increase its water supplies by 25 per cent by the end of this decade to meet increasing demand. That, he said, could destabilize the region and become the most serious source of Arab-Israeli tension.

In more recent times, Israel justified its territorial expansion on security grounds. But when the Zionist movement was still seeking European support for a Jewish state, the Zionists demanded a state which includes all of Palestine, south Lebanon, southwestern Syria, and the western hills of Jordan in order to secure enough space and enough of the region's water resources. That was before the convenient security argument was invented.

Israel's need for more water helps explain the fact that it refuses to be impressed by the Arabs' willingness to negotiate peace with it. Peace requires surrender of territory, and water, at a time when Israel's need for both is increasing rapidly. This fact does not bode well for the future of Arab-Israeli peace. In addition to existing causes of conflict, Israel's thirst for more water are likely to become another source of Arab-Israeli friction.

Christian Exodus From Jerusalem

Palestinian demographers fear that in a few more years there would not be many Christians left in Jerusalem. Sociologist Bernard Sabella of Bethlehem University says that the 14,400 Christians living in the Old City of Jerusalem at the start of the Israeli occupation should have grown to 18,000 by now; instead, there are only 8,000 today.

Harsh and dangerous living conditions under occupation are blamed for the exodus. Furthermore, Israeli law forbids Christian missionary activity. When Brigham Young's University established a branch in Jerusalem a few years ago, it raised a storm of protest by Israelis who feared that it would strengthen Christian presence in the city. The university had to give the Israeli government assurances, including a large financial deposit, to ensure that it would not undertake missionary work. □

Disabled Palestinians

Until recently, as in the case of other traditional societies, the disabled in Palestine have been considered a burden—sometimes even an embarrassment—to their families and communities. The intifada is changing that, according to a report in *Tanmiya*, the newsletter of the Geneva-based Welfare Association. Since the intifada began in December 1987, the report says, new attitudes have emerged, as well as new efforts to help.

Because many Palestinians have been disabled in the course of resistance to Israeli occupation and repression, disability is now widely seen as "a mark of courage and patriotism." Long habits die hard, however, and some of the old attitude remains, particularly in regard to the mentally handicapped.

The newsletter cites a recently conducted study of the disabled in occupied Palestine, which indicates that by the end of the second year of the intifada between 1,200 and 2,000 people have suffered severe disabilities requiring long-term institutional care. These cases include only such severe disabilities as amputations, paralysis, and the loss of one or both eyes. The number, of course, has increased since then.

The Israeli occupation authorities, the report says, "has shown a marked lack of concern since 1967, reflected in minimal funding and in the absence of dedicated institutions or departments within the public health system." The responsibility for caring for the disabled, therefore, has fallen on private charitable organizations, such as the Friends of the Patient Society in Ramallah and the Society for the Care of the Handicapped in Gaza.

The report says that the Israeli occupation authorities not only fail to help, but in many ways they hinder the local effort. It cites a case where out of 157 patients enrolled in a rehabilitation program, 36 have been arrested. Heavy taxes on wheelchairs make them very expensive, costing \$8,650 each.

Based on "Disability Under Occupation," *Tanmiya* (Geneva), Issue 19, June 1990.

A Very Short School Year

In spite of Israeli claims that Palestinian schools have been allowed to reopen, schools still find it impossible to function. UNRWA reported in July that five of its schools in Tulkarm refugee camp have been closed so frequently by the Israeli authorities, including an extended closure between 11 February and 22 May, that the schools were able to operate for a total of only 41 days during the 89-90 school year. When UNRWA planned to use the summer recess to salvage the school year for the 2,263 Palestinian refugee children who attend them, Israel objected and warned that force would be used to prevent the schools from opening.

Israel closed down Palestinian schools, on all levels, at the beginning of the intifada. In the summer of 1989, in the face of mounting international criticism, the Israeli authorities announced the reopening of the schools, with the exception of universities, but they continued to close them sporadically and on a selective basis. □

Violence in Jerusalem

Two Israeli teenagers who had disappeared a few days earlier were found dead in occupied Jerusalem on the 6th of August. A pogrom in Palestinian neighborhoods followed the discovery of the bodies, resulting in the death of a Palestinian woman and injury to more than fifty others during the first 24 hours.

Israeli mobs rampaged through Palestinian neighborhoods shouting "kill the Arabs." Palestinian passersby and cars were attacked, and several vehicles were torched. Jewish settlers in the settlement of Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, killed a Palestinian woman as they fired at passing traffic. At *Palestine Perspectives* press time, these incidents left the occupied territories in a state of heightened tension, promising another escalation of violence and counterviolence. As the international media and the governments of the world focused on the Gulf crisis, Palestinians feared that they would fall victim to a new round of pogroms and repression by Jewish settlers and the Israeli occupation army, particularly since the new Israeli government authorized the use of settler militias to subdue the Palestinians. □

Israel Threatens Palestinian Farmers

Rafael Eitan, Israel's new minister of agriculture, is developing a scheme for subverting Palestinian farming in the West Bank and Gaza. If Israel cannot subdue the Palestinians by clubbing them, he believes, it can do so by starving them.

Israeli sources say that Eitan is considering an embargo on the sale of fertilizers, seeds, fruit plant saplings, and insecticides to Palestinian farmers in order to curtail their productivity. Israel already rations the use of water for the irrigation of Palestinian farmland, and it requires licensing for selling Palestinian produce in Israel. It requires no licenses for the sale of Israeli produce in Palestinian markets.

Eitan has a dual objective for his scheme. He hopes to weaken Palestinian resistance to Israel by undermining Palestinian self-sufficiency. And he wants to weaken the Palestinian farmer's ability to compete with Israeli produce. Both objectives are intended to perpetuate Palestinian economic dependence on Israel as a means to facilitate the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza. One of the intifada's methods of freeing the Palestinians of Israeli control has been the encouragement of greater agricultural and industrial productivity.

The minister, a former general in the Israeli army, is one of the most extreme right wingers in the new Israeli government. When he was Israel's Chief of Staff in 1982, he said that Israel should put so much pressure on the Palestinians to make them

Palestinian Doctor Saves Israeli Officer

Dr. Shawqi Harb, a Palestinian heart surgeon at Ramallah Hospital in the West Bank, saved the life of an Israeli army officer after the latter had been accidentally shot by Israeli troops in the middle of July. The officer was shot by Israeli soldiers while driving in a civilian car when he failed to stop at an army checkpoint. His car continued for some distance before he collapsed and his car crashed. Palestinian residents in the area called a Palestine Red Crescent ambulance and took him to Ramallah hospital.

Reuter news agency reported from Ramallah that the Israeli officer, Captain Yitzhak Berkowitz, was stunned to see a Palestinian doctor caring for him when he recovered from his two hour operation.

Dr. Harb told the British news agency that the Israelis are incredibly misinformed about the Palestinians. He said that he was deeply touched by a Palestinian woman who had lost a son during the intifada. "She came to thank me for saving the officer's life," Dr. Harb said. "Maybe now they will understand and stop killing our sons." Dr. Harb also received a note of thanks from Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens. □

feel "like drugged cockroaches in a bottle." Apparently, as a member of Israel's current government, he now feels that he has the political means of doing so. □

Intifada Casualties: Summary Update

The following data is extracted from Volume III, No. 6 "Human Rights Update" published by Palestine Human Rights Information Center, covering the period from the beginning of the intifada in December 1987 till the end of May 1990. The figures include human rights violations for which Israeli occupation troops, settlers and other Israeli civilians, and collaborators are directly responsible:

| Type of violation | May 1990 | Total to date |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Killed | 40 | 838 |
| Injured | 3,612 | 93,500 |
| Administrative detentions | 900(current) | 9,550 |
| Trees uprooted | 1,359 | 87,473 |
| House demolitions & sealings | 39 | 1,467 |

Coming Events

PHRC Annual Conference

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign will hold its 13th annual conference 5-6 October 1990 at Northwestern University.

MEI Conference

"Shifting Sands: Conflict and Change in the Middle East." The Middle East Institute's 44th Annual Conference, October 12-13, 1990. The National Press Club, Washington.

DEAR READERS

To ensure that you will continue to receive your copy of *Palestine Perspectives* on time, please let us know promptly if you change your address.

There's No Denying It

By Joel Bleifuss

Two years ago I reported on the existence of a press release written by the Israeli Foreign Ministry titled "10 Ways Israel is not like South Africa." What were those "10 ways?" No one knows because the press release was never released. It was, however, fairly easy to come up with a list of ways that Israel was like South Africa. I counted 12 back then. It is now time to revise that list. As the situation evolves in South Africa, it is no longer fair to compare the policies of South African President F. W. de Clerk to that of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. The similarities between the two countries are disappearing. In South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) has been legalized and the ANC flag can be displayed. But in Israel, membership in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) remains a crime, as does the flying of the Palestinian flag. In South Africa, ANC leader Nelson

Mandela is meeting with the white government to negotiate change. In Israel, PLO leaders are barred from entering the country and people connected to the PLO are expelled. In South Africa, the opposition press now operates relatively freely. In Israel, West Bank journalists are persecuted. In South Africa, the government has begun investigating the crimes committed by pro-apartheid terrorists. In Israel, the pro-Zionist fanatics operate with little government interference. In South Africa, the children that were once held in jail for disturbing the official peace are now free. In Israel...

They shoot the children, don't they [here follows a summary of the recent report on casualties among children, by the Swedish Save the Children organization]. □

From *In These Times*, Chicago-based weekly newspaper, 1-14 August 1990

New Publications

- **Human Rights for the Palestinians.** New York: U.N. Department of Public Information, August 1989.
- Anne Joyce, ed., **Selected Documents Pertaining to U.S.-Arab Relations.** Third revised edition. Washington: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1990.
- **The United Nations & the Question of Palestine.** New York: U.N. Department of Public Information, May 1990.

A Moment in Palestinian History

Thaher al-Omar, 1695-1775

In the 18th century Palestine, like most of the Middle East, was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. But in the 1730s, a local leader from the city of Safad in northern Palestine emerged to fight for Palestinian independence, and briefly achieved it.

Thaher al-Omar was born in Safad in 1695. His family was one of the city's prominent families, and his father and other relatives had been principal administrators there. He inherited his family's leadership role and built on it. In the 1730s, he extended his jurisdiction to neighboring areas in the eastern Galilee, including the city of Tiberias. Then he extended his rule to other major Palestinian cities such as Acre and Jaffa.

He defied Ottoman authority, discontinued the payment of taxes to them and successfully fought their forces, dispatched from Syria to subdue him. During his rule of Palestine, agriculture prospered, the economy thrived, and Palestinian commerce with Europe greatly expanded.

But the Ottoman Empire had not yet become "the sick man of Europe," and it was not ready to collapse. In the end, Palestine succumbed again to Ottoman rule, which was to continue for another 150 years. □

Based on *Palestinian Encyclopedia*, volume 3

Talk of Peace Troubles Golan Settlers

Jewish settlers in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights are worried about the possibility of peace with Syria. They recalled that peace with Egypt involved the removal of Jewish settlements from Sinai, and they are fearful that peace with Syria would affect them in the same way.

There are now 33 Jewish settlements inhabited by about 10,000 settlers in the occupied Golans. Recent reports of the possibility of Israeli-Syrian moves towards a solution of the conflict between them prompted quick response from the settlers. Yehuda Wollman, chairman of the Golan settlement movement, rushed to Tel Aviv to see Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and to find out if there have really been contacts between Israel and Syria, and "what are their contents."

To mobilize Israeli opinion behind them, the Golan settlers are trying to convince the Israeli public that Israel cannot afford to return the Golans to Syria not only for "security" reasons, but also because the Golans have become an important source of water for Israel. □

The Hunt for the Missing Book

In the March/April issue of *Palestine Perspectives*, Number 46, we asked our readers to let us know if they find in this country Michael Palumbo's book, *The Palestinian Catastrophe: The 1948 Expulsion of a People From Their Homeland*. The request resulted from our inability to locate the book in Washington area bookstores and libraries.

One of the largest bookstores in Washington, which usually has a good selection of books on the Middle East did not stock it, even though it has been receiving inquiries about it. We called them and ordered a copy through them from the book's British publishers, Faber & Faber. They took the order and said that they had three or four other orders for the book. That was more than four months ago, and they have yet to deliver.

Four of our readers have written, saying that they have located the book. Two of them, from the midwest, said they found it in local libraries. The third, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, got it from the University of Hawaii through the interlibrary loan system.

One reader, from Virginia, said she obtained a copy from a bookstore in London. She sent the address, which we give you in case you are interested:

Hatchards Booksellers, 187 Picadilly, London W1V 9DA, England.

The reader says that there is now a paperback edition published also in England by Quartet Books, 27/29 Goodge Street, London W1P 1FD. □

"The Lydda Death March"

"Keith Wheller, a reporter for the *Chicago Sun Times*, witnessed the attack [on Lydda]. In an article titled 'Blitz Tactics Won Lydda,' he wrote as the Israeli vehicles surged through the town, 'practically everything in their way died. Riddled corpses lay by the roadside.' Not all of the casualties were members of the Arab Legion that was defending the town. Kenneth Bilby of the *New York Herald Tribune* who entered Lydda in the company of an Israeli intelligence officer noticed 'the corpses of Arab men, women and even children strewn about in the wake of the ruthlessly brilliant charge.'"

From Michael Palumbo, *The Palestinian Catastrophe*, page 126

More U.S. Money for Israeli Weapons

Israeli sources say that the U.S. government will continue to finance the development of Israel's Arrow missile. The sources said that during his July visit to the United States, Israel's defense minister Moshe Arens secured the Pentagon's agreement to fund phase two of the project. Phase one, which cost \$158 million, 80 per cent of which was paid by the United States, will be completed next June. The cost of phase two is expected to reach \$200 million.

Although agreement was reached on continuing the project and on continued U.S. funding for it, it is believed that Washington would want to revise the 80-20 arrangement with Israel. Defense specialists say that originally the U.S. expected Israel to share the cost on a 50-50 basis, and the administration might push Israel for shouldering a larger percentage than the current 20 per cent. Israeli sources, however, feel confident that Washington would continue to pay 80 per cent of the cost of the Israeli project, because of support in Congress.

The visit by Arens was the first high level contact between the Bush administration and a member of the new right wing Israeli government. *The Jerusalem Post International* (28 July) said that the visit by Arens, his meetings with Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, and the continued American support of the Arrow project are intended to send a message to the Arabs that they should not "misconstrue" differences between the U.S. and Israel. □

Documents on U.S.-Arab Relations

The Washington-based American-Arab Affairs Council, publisher of the quarterly *American-Arab Affairs* journal, has produced the third edition of its *Selected Documents Pertaining to U.S.-Arab Relations*. The new 151-page edition is double the size of the earlier editions, and it includes better coverage of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was compiled by Anne Joyce, the editor of *American-Arab Affairs*.

In addition to documents on the Palestine question, the publication includes documents on the invasion of Lebanon and its consequences, the status of Jerusalem, and cooperation agreements among Arab states.

Selected Documentation is available from the American-Arab Affairs Council, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 512, Washington DC 20036. Price: \$12 a copy. □

Money in Politics

Pro-Israel Political Donor Convicted

A pro-Israel California businessman who is said to have spent millions of dollars on political ventures has been convicted of illegally spending \$120,000 to ensure victory for Alan Cranston (D-CA) by undermining his Republican challenger in the 1986 Senate elections. Cranston is known as one of Israel's most loyal Israel supporters in the U.S. Senate.

The California businessman, Michael Goland, bragged that he spent more than a million dollars to defeat Senator Charles Percy in 1984. A witness testified that Goland told her that in 1985, during Senate debates on the sale of arms to Saudi Arabia, he threatened several senators in the Senate cloak room by telling them that "if you vote for this arms deal, I will do to you what I did to Charles Percy in 1984."

The Wall Street Journal reported that Mr. Goland's telephone records show that during the 1986 Senate race, "he was in almost daily contact with officials of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee," the Israel lobby in Washington. AIPAC claims that it "has severed all ties with Mr. Goland, once its biggest contributor." □

■ **Die and Pay**—An Israeli hospital in Ha Tikva has presented the parents of 13-year-old Sami Abu Sheikh, from Qalqilya, with a bill for 2,000 Israeli shekels (\$1,000) for dying in the hospital after he was fatally shot by Jewish settlers.

The parents of Wafa Kahmis Allan, 17-year-old girl from the Shati refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, another victim of Israeli bullet wounds, were also billed by an Israeli hospital where she was taken before she died, for services rendered.

■ **Drop the Baby**—A Palestinian from Nablus was beaten by Israeli soldiers because he raised only one hand when a patrol ordered him to raise his hands. The man, Nafi Braik, 38, could not raise both hands because he was carrying his 8-month-old daughter at the time.

■ **More Miscarriages**—Increasing use of tear gas by Israeli troops, especially in the Gaza Strip, has been noted lately. In one incident in June, 66 Palestinian children suffered the effects of tear gas fired into a Gaza clinic. In July, hospitals in the Gaza Strip reported 27 miscarriages caused by tear gas during the first half of the month.

■ **Ambassador Resigns**—Israel's ambassador to Egypt, Shimon Shamir, resigned because he could not support the policies of the new right wing Israeli government. My "personal beliefs," he said, are inconsistent with the policies of the current government. Shamir had served as Israel's ambassador in Cairo for two years.

■ **Arens Militias**—The new Israeli Minister of Defense, Moshe Arens, has authorized settler militias in the occupied territories. There are also proposals being floated in Israel to form and arm militias of Palestinian collaborators, on the model of the South Lebanon mercenaries.

■ **UN Condemns**—The United Nations Security Council "strongly deplored" the use of tear gas by Israeli soldiers against a mother-and-child care clinic in the Gaza Strip last June. The incident caused injury to 66 Palestinian babies [see story in the previous issue of *Palestine Perspectives*].

■ **Waldheim**—Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, accused of hidden Nazi past, in fact worked against the Nazis, according to the German Jewish editor of *Semit*. Oswalt Lewinter says a former French resistance fighter saw Waldheim's name on a list of members of Austria's anti-Hitler Freedom Movement.

Israeli Mass Killer Has Nothing to Say *If Not Irresponsible, At Least "Unresponsive"*

Ami Popper, the Israeli mass killer who murdered seven Palestinian workers and wounded 15 others in the Rishon Lezion massacre of 20 May 1990, now has nothing to say. In mid-July, his trial was postponed to 5 September, at the request of his attorney, because he has become "totally unresponsive." Popper is now standing trial after a group of five state-appointed psychiatrists examined him and found him to be "mentally fit." The Israeli authorities had described him as "deranged" immediately after the massacre, to deflect the feeling of outrage throughout the world.

Popper's attorney, commenting on his client's refusal to speak in court, said that his silence "would be taken as a plea of innocence." □

■ **Lost Israeli Pilot**—An Israeli air force pilot took off in a reconnaissance plane and vanished in July. The 33-year-old pilot, Israeli sources say, flew without authorization, and all efforts to trace him have failed.

■ **Fewer Volunteers**—Fewer Israelis are volunteering to help arriving Soviet Jewish immigrants. The reason is that the influx is causing a lot of problems and resentments, particularly a soaring cost of housing which is creating a class of homeless people in Israel.

■ **Prisoner Shot**—Israeli guards at Ofer prison near Ramallah in the occupied West Bank shot and killed Sabri Abed Rabbo while in detention. They claimed that he was trying to escape. Sabri's brother was killed by Israeli troops in March 1989.

■ **More Soldiers Jailed**—Two more Israeli soldiers have been sentenced to prison for refusing to serve in occupied Palestine. Yesh Gvul, the Israeli organization which supports conscientious objectors, said that 119 soldiers have been imprisoned for refusing to serve since the beginning of the intifada.

■ **Japanese Ambulances**—Six new ambulances, a donation from Japan to UNRWA, arrived in the Gaza Strip at the end of June. The shortage of ambulances and restrictions on their import, licensing and operation have caused serious impediments to health care in occupied Palestine since the start of the intifada.

■ **Kach Caught**—Six members of Meir Kahane's fascist Kach movement were arrested and charged with breaking into and vandalizing the Jerusalem offices of Mapam Party.

Kach openly espouses anti-Arab fascist ideas, such as mass expulsion and open and legalized discrimination, and it is possible that the purpose of the break-in was to search for evidence which could be used to attack and discredit Mapam, which favors peace with the Palestinians.

■ **Corruption in Israel**—Another scandal involving corruption in high places now dogs the Israeli government. The most recent case involves Religious Affairs Minister Avner Shaki. He is suspected of diverting funds totaling half a million dollars to institutions established by relatives. The money comes from wills by Jews left to the state of Israel without specifying their purpose.

■ **Without Tora**—Former Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel, Shlomo Goren, said that Reform Jews "are people without Tora, without religion and without faith." The attack, made in a statement to *The Jerusalem Post*, was a reaction to a recent decision by the Central Conference of American Rabbis that homosexuals can serve as rabbis.

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Shshsh!

"What I cannot accept and in fact disgustedly reject is the phenomenon of Jewish leaders turning to non-Israeli media in order to voice criticism of Israel's policies."

Chaim Herzog, President of Israel, from a letter to Theo Klein, president of the Council of French Jewish Institutions who had suggested that Israel should negotiate with the PLO. Text published in *The Jerusalem Post International*, 21 July 1990.

Sweden Objects to Israeli Presence

Flights of Israel's airline, El Al, to Stockholm's Arlanda Airport have been suspended due to a dispute over Israel's insistence on the use of Israeli security agents there. Sweden rejects such an Israeli presence saying that it is against Swedish Law to permit armed foreigners on its soil.

The Swedish authorities say that they provide Israeli aircraft and passengers all the protection they need, including double screening and passenger interviews, and Israeli guards are not needed in Sweden. □

The European Community Steps Up Support for Palestine

EC Summit Decides to Double Aid and to Open Liaison Office

The twelve members of the European Community concluded a summit meeting in Dublin, Ireland, on 26 June 1990 and issued a statement of support for the Palestinians. In their statement, the twelve West European states said they intended to double their assistance to the Palestinians by 1992 and urged the European Commission to appoint a representative in the occupied territories to oversee the EC's expanding program of aid and trade relations with occupied Palestine.

The EC also deplored Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights and urged Israel to begin a political dialogue with the Palestinians which would bring about a settlement based on the exchange of land for peace. It regretted Israel's settlement policy which would make territorial compromise "ever more difficult," and which "represents a growing obstacle to peace in the region."

On the question of European economic aid to Palestine, the EC expressed satisfaction with the growth of that aid and with increasing European trade with Palestine. It said that direct community aid to the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza would be doubled by 1992.

At the end of July, a 3-member EC delegation led by Italy's Foreign Minister, said in a visit to Israel that upgrading Israeli trade with Europe is not possible as long as Israel remains intransigent on the peace process. The European community is Israel's principal trading partner, with which Israel does \$10 billion in trade a year. □

The Reconstruction of Emmuas

Soon after the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 ended, the Israeli occupation army evicted the inhabitants of three ancient Palestinian villages (Emmuas, Yalu, and Beit Nuba) and totally demolished them. To conceal their crime, the Israelis planted a forest on the site of the three villages, with contributions from Canadian Jews, and the site is now known as "Canada Park."

The three villages were located in an area known as the Latrun Salient, west of Jerusalem. They overlooked the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway, and the Israelis did not want any Palestinians there. Before they were destroyed in 1967, the three villages had a combined population of about 5,000 residents.

A group of people from Switzerland, concerned for the fate of the residents of the three Palestinian villages and for the possibilities of just peace, have formed an association, called the Association for the Reconstruction of Emmuas. Its purpose is to rebuild Emmuas and repatriate its former residents.

The association's address is: Gesellschaft zum Wiederaufbau Emmuas, Rue du Centre 74, 1025 St. Sulpice, Switzerland. □

Palestine Perspectives

The Magazine of Contemporary Palestinian Affairs

"Taint people's ignorance that does the harm, 'tis their knowin so much that ain't so." Artemis Ward

The Palestinians have been victimized by disinformation more than any other people. They have been dispossessed and displaced; they have suffered repeated massacres; their human rights have been systematically and ruthlessly violated. Yet, they have risen above their pain and made more conciliatory moves to resolve the conflict with Israel than any other party to that conflict. But they are still portrayed as villains and obstacles to peace.

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Mengistu in Israel

Ethiopian strongman Mengistu Haile Mariam made a secret visit to Israel. Israel has replaced the Soviet Union as the supplier of weapons and military advisors to Ethiopia's Marxist ruler.

This Israeli military involvement in Ethiopia, which has been waging war in the Horn of Africa for years, is said to be emerging as a new source of tension between Israel and the U.S. government. *The Jerusalem Post International* (28 July) said that the U.S. is "hard as nails" in its opposition to Israeli military assistance to Mariam's regime. □

Those Who Know

Educated Americans support Palestine more than Israel. This is the gist of an unpublished public opinion poll taken by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The poll also showed that more Americans (43%) believed that the establishment of a Palestinian state would lead to peace in the Middle East than those who believed the opposite (33%). The poll, according to *The Jerusalem Post International* (21 July 1990), is "troubling" to Israel and has "caused deep consternation" when its results were conveyed to the Israeli government.

According to *The Post*, the ADL poll showed that 48 percent of college educated Americans are more sympathetic to the Palestinians and only 25 percent favored Israel. The paper said that Israeli officials "are concerned that the attitudes of the more educated will eventually spread to other levels of the U.S. population." □

Israel Hand Feeds the International Media

Some of the "news" about Israel and the Middle East, heard by radio listeners in this country and around the world for years, and assumed to be gathered by honest and hard-working journalists, turned out to be nothing but packaged propaganda concocted and paid for by the Israeli government. An Israeli radio station in Jerusalem, posing as free lance media, has been preparing and selling to foreign networks and radio stations "information" financed by the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

"Reporters" working for the Jerusalem radio station were "briefed" by officials of the Israeli Foreign Ministry and instructed to send reports favorable to Israel to foreign clients. A story in *The New York Times* (30 July 1990) revealed that the Israeli government channeled money to the station for payment of the reporters' salaries. Furthermore, Israeli embassies abroad helped the station find clients for their reports in foreign countries.

The degree to which Israeli government propaganda, masquerading as news, was spread around the world is indicated by the fact that among the Jerusalem station's clients were two major American radio networks, and radio stations in Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. □

U.S. Accused of "Dirty Tricks"

In a blistering attack on the U.S. government and media, a *Jerusalem Post* editorial accused unnamed "officials in the U.S. administration" and the American media of practicing the "totalitarian concept" that the end justifies the means.

The 8 July editorial, titled "dirty tricks," charged that the U.S. has been using "leaks" about Israeli weapons found in the possession of Columbian drug dealers and about Israeli military collaboration with South Africa and Ethiopia to put pressure on Israel. It called such leaks "disinformation" and "planted lies."

The Post suggested that there is "an antisemitic overtone" in such criticisms of Israel. The newspaper, which has been recently bought by and largely staffed with right wingers, said that such attacks on Israel make it difficult for it to trust a political settlement brokered by the U.S. government. Perhaps that was the point of the whole exercise. □

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